

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Venture

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Comment

CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICS IN WEST AFRICA

WHATEVER may be the outcome of the Fitzgerald Commission's enquiry* into the Enugu shooting last December, one good result has already come in the attempt to form a united party from the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the Nigerian Youth Movement. So far no detailed programme has been put forward, and it will not be easy to formulate one—it never is easy to combine organisations—but it is to be hoped that Nigeria has now seen the end, in the south at least, of the political rivalries which previously weakened the emerging national movement. Unity is on the horizon in the trade union movement also. On May 26 a new body, the Nigerian Labour Congress, was formed by the T.U.C., the National Federation of Labour and the Federation of Government Non-Clerical Workers. The trade union split had followed much the same line as the N.C.N.C.-N.Y.M. split which preceded it. We hope that both disagreements will soon be dead and buried. In the Gold Coast, the split between Nkrumah's Convention People's Party and Dr. Danquah's United Gold Coast Convention persists. The latter has now put forward a Ten-Point Programme which ranges from the demand that chiefs should not sit in the Assembly under the projected constitution to the development of water supplies. It is notable that 8 of the 10 points deal with economic planning and social services. There is also news of the merging of two parties, rivals for 23 years, on a programme of attainment of self-government by constitutional means. These

are encouraging developments. Next year, if all goes well, both Nigeria and the Gold Coast will hold the first elections in their history in which the mass of the people can take part. They ought to have constructive programmes to vote on. They will also need proper electoral machinery. After the extraordinary spectacle of the Accra municipal elections in April, in which practically every rule of secrecy was broken, we can only suggest to those concerned that they could do worse than to read the exhaustive handbook, *The Conduct of Parliamentary Elections*, prepared by the Labour Party for the British elections last February.

PENICILLIN FOR COLONIAL TRADE UNIONS

THE decisions of the Brussels meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to send a mission to the Far East, to plan similar missions to Africa and the Near East and to establish residential colleges for the training of trade unionists are indeed a shot of penicillin into the enfeebled structure of colonial trade unionism. In Malaya, a fresh start has been made by the inauguration of the Malayan Trade Union Council (with 169 registered trade unions), after the collapse of the communist-dominated unions when insurrection broke out in June, 1948. The courage needed for this step is indicated by a recent report that three officials of a non-communist trade union who spoke against the communists at a union meeting were found murdered the next day. The list of recommendations made to the Secretary of State during his recent visit shows that there is still an uphill fight—the committee of the Council asked for 'compulsory primary education, more instruction in elementary trade union principles and practice, a drive on the acute lack of housing and an early fulfilment of the employment code.'

* The Commission's Report was published as this number went to press. It will be commented upon in the August number of *Venture*.

The dark side of the picture is seen in East Africa. In Northern Rhodesia, no solution has been found to the colour bar impasse on the railways and the Copperbelt. In Kenya, in a short space of time an able Sikh Communist, Makhan Singh, has captured the leadership of the infant East African Trades Union Congress and its six affiliated trade unions and has used the trade union movement for political purposes. Obviously the trade union adviser has been unable to guide the struggling unions on the right path. Part of his difficulty in winning the confidence of the workers may well have been his identification with Government as a member of the Labour Department. The arrest of Makhan Singh and the African Chairman of Congress, Fred Kubai, was the signal for a general but ineffective strike. The underlying dissatisfaction, the bitter resentment of the Africans, have their roots in the slum shanty town outside Nairobi, where 50,000 Africans are 'housed' in conditions reminiscent of the worst of the locations outside Johannesburg. The colour bar, low wages, food prices, all play their part.

The consideration of the rôle of trade union advisers by the Secretary of State and a mission of investigation by the International Confederation of free trade unions might well be the shot of penicillin required to put these immature movements on their feet.

KEYS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

THE Mediterranean Colonies have been making the headlines. There is much relief that the British Government have offered Malta £1½m. over a five-year period, for the heroism of the Maltese during the war will never be forgotten in this country. The Colony having achieved the great goal of self-government finds itself unable to pay for the social services and the food subsidies which the people demand. The establishment of light industries, the promotion of the tourist trade and emigration at the rate of 1,000 a month are the only measures that can secure the standard of living to which the Maltese aspire.

Gibraltar is fighting the ancient battle of no taxation without representation. Direct taxation has been limited to an estate duty, but now in order to increase the revenue of the fortress with its population of 33,000, it is necessary to tax trading profits. A new constitution is promised and elections should take place in the autumn, but at the moment expenditure, particularly on housing, is urgently necessary, but the Chamber of Commerce is full of defiance.

Compared with the disaffection in Cyprus, Malta and Gibraltar are only headaches. Apart

from the Turkish minority of some 80,000, Cypriots of the Greek Orthodox Church representing the right wing and the Communist Party on the left are equally determined that the island should be ceded to Greece. Appeals to Greece, to the British Government and to UNO are carrying the demand for Enosis far and wide. Historically the island has never been a part of Greece, but that makes no impression on the 350,000 Greek-speaking Cypriots—nor does the splendid achievement of the Government in eradicating malaria. As the island is part of the Anglo-American strategy in the Mediterranean, functioning as an aircraft carrier and an advanced wireless station, the Cypriots haven't a hope of joining Greece. After the right-wing delegation had been received by the King and Queen in Athens, the Prime Minister said that the Greek Government intended 'to deal with this question within the framework of the relations with the friendly and allied country Great Britain *when it considers the time propitious for a happy settlement.*' In the meantime, imprisonment of Communist Municipal councillors, editors and printers, petty suppression and strikes are the warp and weft of Cypriot political life.

MINISTERS IN MALAYA

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Secretary of State for War managed, according to reports, to see beneath the surface in their visit to Malaya. Action on the 'bandit' front continues: Australia is to send transport aircraft and crews and has agreed to service R.A.F. planes in Australia; an ex-Punjab C.I.D. expert has gone to advise the Federation police; Britain is to send more armour; and the Federation Government has announced new security measures which include the strengthening of auxiliary police and village guards, increased recruitment of Chinese to the regular police, and the death penalty for collecting subscriptions or receiving supplies for the use of the Communists. At Sydney, economic plans were initiated for Commonwealth assistance in South Asia, but these can produce only long-term results. Meanwhile, the Federal Government is planning the establishment of a rural and industrial development authority to concentrate particularly on improving the economic position of the Malays. Rehabilitation of Chinese squatters, most of them desperately poor, is being held up by the reluctance of the Malay State authorities to grant them land. The Malays are also reported to be dubious about the Communities Liaison Committee's new citizenship proposals which would enable 23 per cent. of non-Malays at present in the country to

acquire citizenship, as compared with the estimated 18 per cent. who are eligible under the present federal constitution. The Malay attitude is not difficult to understand, in view of their overwhelming response to the call to defend their country, but it is to be hoped that their leaders, who have gone so far to achieve agreement with the other communities, will be able to persuade their followers. Singapore is also working on both fronts at once. The four top Communist leaders from the Singapore Town Committee of the

Malayan Communist Party were arrested in May, and the Colony has embarked on the building of 18 new primary schools each year, with the aim of establishing free primary education, in English, for both boys and girls by the end of 1957. There will be no barrier to private schools, such as the Chinese schools, but the Government hopes to set up enough schools of its own to make education compulsory within that period. This is certainly the road out of the Malayan impasse, provided that time is given to travel on it.

THE OFFICIAL CONTRIBUTION

*'THE basic requirements for effective self-government can perhaps be reduced to five. You must be strong, energetic and vigorous. You must have knowledge. You must be able to grow, dig, and make all you possibly can for your own needs. You must have something to sell to the outside world in exchange for the things you need but cannot produce yourself. And you must be able to govern and administer your affairs honestly and efficiently (involving, not least, a readiness to take the odium for unpalatable decisions which under a colonial régime can conveniently be blamed on the metropolitan power)'. Who says so? The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his Report on the work of the Colonial Office in the year 1949-1950.**

Of course this rather patronising statement was not written by Mr. Griffiths, who has a warm-hearted way of expressing himself that contrasts strongly with the cold, correct official style which pervades this Report as well as public life in the Colonies. Nevertheless, colonial readers should not be put off by it, for the Report does give a very clear account of the part played by the Colonial Office and the Colonial Service in bringing about the conditions that they hold to be essential for self-government.

They have, undoubtedly, done remarkably well, and some of the things they have done have been well outside the long-established habits of thought on economic and political development. Nothing could have been much further removed from tradition than the constitutional consultations in Nigeria which occupied the whole of the year under review, and from which, it is hoped, some compromise settlement may emerge from the one disagreement on regional representation which still

stands in the way. Within the tradition, there have been the Federation proposals in the West Indies and Trinidad's new constitution. The other major development in the constitutional field has been the presentation of the Coussey Report, which is still under discussion in the Gold Coast.

In the West Indies, British Guiana has got no further than the appointment of a Commission to consider the revision of the franchise and the reform of the Legislative Council, while in the Leeward and Windward Islands the apparently interminable discussions on constitutional reform are still going on. Discussion continues in Sierra Leone also, but there it is amongst the local people themselves, not between the Government and the politicians. In East Africa, there have been small increases in the numbers of African and Asian unofficial members on the Legislative Councils, but the Report skirts over the dangerous fundamental racial tensions to which we devoted the last number of this journal. On the other hand, there have been great improvements in local government in Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Sierra Leone, and next year's Report should show what is now being done in this field in Eastern Nigeria. In Malaya, from the beginning of the Emergency to January 31, 1950, 1,058 bandits were killed and 358 wounded; the Security Forces lost 444 killed and 539 wounded; 699 civilians were killed (of whom 459 were Chinese) and 380 were wounded. Constitutional reform, however, is still entangled with the citizenship problem, for which the Communities Liaison Committee is trying to find a solution.

Malaya has, however, made a major contribution in the formation of the Malayan Trade Union Congress, in which a leading part has been played by its outstanding Trade Union Adviser, Mr. John Brazier. Other advisers have not been so

* *The Colonial Territories (1949-50)*. H.M. Stationery Office. Cmd. 7958. 4s.

obviously successful, perhaps because so many of them are 'merged' in the Labour Departments. There have been labour troubles of a serious kind in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Kenya.

Major battles have been won by the Health Departments. D.D.T. has all but driven malaria from British Guiana and Mauritius and has eradicated it from Cyprus; chloromycetin is proving successful against the scrub-typhus of Malaya, and sulphone drugs are being used to cure leprosy in West Africa. Community feeding centres and school feeding, with the expansion of child welfare services, have lowered the mortality rate in Malaya, and Singapore now claims to be the healthiest port in the Far East. In the West Indies the average length of life is increasing, though, considering the existing population pressure, it is hard to say whether or not this is really a blessing. Education has shown similar advances, though schools and teachers for *all* colonial children is still a dream of the future. At the bottom level, mass education and community development schemes continue; at the top, the new Universities function in Malaya, the West Indies, and West Africa, and in East Africa, Makerere College has at last been admitted to special relationship with the University of London. There are now 4,000 colonial students in this country, and another 2,300 receiving higher education in their own territories.

But the major problem remains economic advance. Here there has at last come a quickening

of pace as shortages have been overcome, particularly in steel, and as initial surveys have been completed. The Gambia poultry farm is well under way, and the timber scheme in British Guiana, cement manufacture in Northern Rhodesia, tung production in Nyasaland, and the sealing project in the South Atlantic have been launched. In West Africa, a whole litter of schemes has been born from the local Government-financed corporations, the marketing boards, the production boards and the normal expansion of Government departments. In Uganda the Nile Power Scheme has been started, in the Gold Coast the Volta has been surveyed, in Northern Nigeria the possibilities of tapping underground sources of water are being investigated.

So the Report goes on—page after page of useful work is recorded, the kind of work that officials can do. But the life that is going on underneath it all is not described, and the picture seems a little unreal in the face of the upheaval of Asia, the primitive protests in East Africa against European domination, the nationalist upsurge in West Africa and the continued poverty in the West Indies. It is not unreal—it is a true picture of what can be done from above, and the part it leaves out is the picture of what the colonial peoples can do and are doing for themselves. The disquiet must continue until the two parts of the picture are brought together in a genuine co-operative advance.

AMERICAN LIGHT ON AFRICA

*By Kenneth Little**

THE existence of strong and discriminatory colour bars over a large part of Africa is often explained in terms of the wide cultural differences obtaining. The African way of life is so much more 'primitive' than the European one. Consequently, it is argued, occupational barriers and other restrictions on African training and employment are necessary in order to protect and preserve the 'higher' civilisation. The difficulty of living alongside and mixing with people whose outlook and habits are different from one's own is pointed out, and inter-marriages are condemned for similar reasons. An important implication is to be drawn

from this kind of argument. It is that if only the African's ideas and general way of life were the same as the European one, there would be no need for racial separation. Separate locations, communal voting systems, and the other paraphernalia of European settlement would not be necessary.

The difficulty, however, is that colour bars cannot be explained wholly by cultural differences. Colour bars can and do exist with equal significance in culturally similar as well as culturally mixed societies. The southern states of the United States offer a clear example of this. Throughout the American South, White and Negro inhabitants follow virtually identical customs according to social position and class. At the same time, segregation is legally enforced in schools, on buses and trains, in cinemas and

* Dr. Little returned recently from the United States, after spending most of the past year teaching at a Negro University in Tennessee.

restaurants, and other places of public assembly. Inter-marriage also is illegal, and there are strong sanctions against any public show of social equality between members of the two races. In the more rural areas, Negroes run a grave risk if their manner and behaviour lacks a proper appearance of servility.

Again, although Negroes in the South are entitled, constitutionally, to the same rights and privileges as other U.S. citizens, in practice they are largely disfranchised. Application of segregation itself is supposed to involve equal provision, but the Negro share of public funds is usually much smaller than the White one. In education, for example, in the extreme cases five times as much is spent on the White school child as on the average Negro pupil. Much the same applies to recreational facilities, public health, etc., though the Northern Negro is much better off in all these respects. Particularly damaging from the cultural point of view are the restrictions on public library facilities. The situation has improved since 1939, but in that year it was found that of 774 public libraries only 99—less than one-seventh—served Negroes. Of course, the real fact of the matter is that segregation, on an equal basis, is financially impracticable as well as uneconomic. The South cannot provide education commensurate with the Northern states for its White population, let alone run two separate systems at the same level.

Apartheid?

It is often said that the effect of this racial separation and differentiation in the U.S.A. is to create two distinctive societies running on parallel lines. Such a generalisation is not quite accurate, even in the South. True, Negroes have a family and social life which is very largely their own; they worship mainly in their own churches; run their own businesses and newspapers; but they also have a large part in the general economy. They are employed in the public services and industry and work alongside White people in many cases, though more often than not in a subordinate and less well-paid capacity.

There is no doubt that Negroes have gained in civil rights over the past thirty years. Lynchings, for example, have dropped very greatly in number; certain technical and discriminatory impediments to the franchise have been abolished, with the result that more Negroes are voting than previously; more money is being spent on their education; they have more protection against discrimination in industry, etc. But despite these and other important changes, and despite Presi-

dent Truman's Civil Rights programme, the Negro's position in the South is still a second-class one by ordinary democratic criteria. For what he suffers in general insecurity and subordination any so-called parallel society of his own seems a very unsatisfactory substitute. It is significant, moreover, that virtually the whole force of Negro effort and ambition is directed towards increasing assimilation in the over-all American society, not towards a separate policy or culture. This the Communists belatedly discovered after urging Negroes to found a separate and independent state of their own.

What Negroes want is to end disfranchisement, to have equal access to education and employment, and to participate in the policy-forming administration of government. They intend to realise these aims by constitutional methods, but it is equally clear from the strenuous way in which existing loopholes in the legal structure are scrutinised that Negroes are not content to rely exclusively upon the help of liberal opinion. In particular, Negro leaders are realising their potential strength at the polls and the way it can be used to balance power. The logical effect is that the Negro vote is an increasing factor that politicians must reckon with, even in the South.

American race relations contain several morals that are relevant to the future development of the east and central African territories. The first and most obvious point is that the mere principle of racial segregation along equal lines is apparently insufficient in itself to guarantee equal rights and privileges in fact. It needs the support, among other factors, of a free and equal franchise. As a system, segregation is also very uneconomical for the obvious reason that it involves a duplication of social services for the same community. Whether this same criticism would apply to the same extent in the case of a territorial division of races is a matter for further consideration. A further point, however, is that even partial separation has its effect in institutionalising and 'solidifying' group ideas and practices. It engenders suspicion on both sides and makes it very difficult, subsequently, to obtain inter-racial co-operation. Children who have been educated as members of a separate racial group tend to grow up with very set ideas about the other group. Individuals who have developed business and vocational interests in response to a given set of segregational circumstances are, also, often opposed to their alteration for very practical reasons; and such 'vested interests' are not necessarily confined to the White side of the colour line.



AT the moment, any attempt at charting a Socialist, or even a Liberal, viewpoint of the 'colonial' sea reminds one of the raft Kon-Tiki in the Pacific at the mercy of winds and tides (a former God emblazoned on the sails). This is not to say, of course, that the raft did not arrive, or that the fundamental intuition was wrong. . . It is, however, necessary to stress the radical revision of attitudes demanded by recent events such as the failure of the groundnut scheme, the habit of colonial (and other) politicians of trying to take an ell when they are offered an inch, and the continued drift of real decision away from a tight little Commonwealth world, based on solvency, or the effort towards it, to America and Western Europe, if not the United Nations and to the Soviet bloc. This had its symbolic illustration in April, with the exposure in the *Daily Worker*, a pro-Russian organ, of a deal by which a Franco-American group are offered the chance of limited entry into the field of Congo uranium, held by British interests.



THE British colonial grants for the coming year under the Development and Welfare Fund come to £18m. (By April, the groundnut scheme had cost the country £32,458,650). The loan market has also been very busy, mainly for transport in East and Central Africa. Another scheme reported comes from Cyprus, where £2m. is to be spent on an electricity supply. For its part, the Colonial Development Corporation is levelling 25 acres for a sawmill on the Demerara River in Guiana, has purchased 8,000 acres for food production in the Bahamas, and has extended to another area, the Falklands, where a refrigeration plant is going up at Ajax Bay. More effective, in the long run, may be the ramifying work of new bodies like the Nigerian Department of Commerce and Industry, which is to build 65 pioneer oil mills in the next year and a half, and has 53 dairy units and textile centres now established, with the beginnings of fisheries and canning. Six groundnut oil mills are also planned, and 60 rice mills, potteries and brickworks, as well as research into things like fibres, charcoal, dyestuff and citrus fruits. On a lower level, one may note, in this largest of African areas, the development of

regional production boards, with recent advances to a shoe-factory in Abeokuta, staffed by Africans, or to a corn mill launched by the United Farmers Industrial Association in Ifewara, Ijesha Division. Even the missions are embarking on this new kind of work, with the formal opening by the Governor in March of the rural training centre at Asaba on the Niger. One could fill many editions of *Venture* with such hard facts, which collectively add up to revolution.



IT is a sign of deepening crisis that the partition between colonial development and political warfare is being gradually worn away, partly by the deliberate action of extremists on both sides, partly by the gale of the world. Everyone knows of the crisis in South-East Asia. But the island of Mauritius provides an even more constructive lesson for the onlooker. Here the bitter racial struggle between French and Coloured, and Indian, is bedevilled by the action of immature politicians like J. N. Roy, who have been visiting their mother country and making bitter attacks on the Nehru government, especially for its food-drive. Mr. Roy also expressed disappointment at the misery of the people, the lack of public opinion, and the egotism of those monopolising the wealth of the country. This island idealist, not unlike many nearer home, now wonders whether there is not more public opinion and civil liberties prevailing on the rotting unit of imperialism which he now inhabits. On the other hand there seems little doubt that he will do his best to destroy this harmony, however anomalous. Meanwhile, the Liaison Officer for North Borneo landed in the island in April by *Air France*, to consider talks on the basic problem of Mauritius and a score of other tropical areas—over-population.



IN the main area of open conflict, between human forces, the Commonwealth Consultative Committee met at Sydney in the latter part of May, and decided on a six-year pilot plan to assist the technical development of the countries of South-East Asia with the rather small backing

POINTS



of £8m. for three years. This does not seem much to assist production to keep pace with reproduction, but it is only part of a wider work—for example, Britain since the war has released no less than £750m. in sterling balances; while in March the four stable governments, British, Indian, Pakistani, and Ceylonese granted £6m. to the distracted land of Burma. In Indonesia, the fiscal reform of devaluing the currency by 50 per cent by the simple method of tearing the notes in half has, apparently, not been appreciated, and there have been many strikes, as well as another rising in the Celebes. In Malaya, the jungle war has been visited by two British Cabinet Ministers, and a grenade was thrown at the Governor of Singapore. On the other hand, remarkable success is reported from the real battleground, where it is hoped to harvest no less than 400,000 tons of rice this season.



IN areas where pressure, political or otherwise, does not impinge on the patient work of unknown men of goodwill, the picture of this stormy sea is fairer. Such a place seems the South Pacific, where 60 delegates from 16 groups met for the first time in April in Suva, under the auspices of the regional commission. They discussed the usual questions; food diversification and export, comparative fishery skills, local crafts, village schools, vocational training, co-operatives, mosquito control, food preservation, village health. Already the region's Health Service has been made permanent.



SO far, this charting has contained little of Africa, where politics and emotion mask, as usual, the true face of the land, whether in West, East or Centre. Apart from these events, which are fully covered in the ordinary newspaper, we may perhaps note the first annual conference of the Peoples Educational Association, an extramural body which has founded 41 branches within the Gold Coast in one year. In East Africa, the first African to enter the Senior Service in Tanganyika has just been appointed in the shape of G. G. Mhina, a veterinarian. In Northern

Rhodesia, one may note, with mixed feelings, the opening of the permanent headquarters of the silicosis bureau at Kitwe in the copperbelt, which will deal with upwards of 40,000 people a year, afflicted in the lungs by rock-particles from the mines.



BUT racial tensions do count. In America the Supreme Court has made history by ruling that Negroes have a right to equal facilities at universities and a right to eat in the dining cars on trains in the South. A unanimous decision of three judges established that 'the Fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in treatment by the state, based upon race.' Although the Governor of Georgia has already declared that so long as he is in power Negroes will not be admitted to white schools, a significant stand has been made at least on the legal side.



THIS survey must inevitably be impressionist and piecemeal, with little more sense, it might seem, than is presented by a colony of ants. Is there any other criterion which can give the observer a little greater satisfaction? Of recent years, there are certainly signs that the appalling Philistinism of the typical colonial enterprise may be modified by some kind of recognition of a more enduring world, where private people exist and not only public men, or 'citizens.' Thus, for example, the first musical festival was held as late as 1948 in Trinidad, home of the calypso and the steel band. This year there were no less than 1,000 entries and over 6,000 performers. Another enterprise of this kind, a little more than manufactured perhaps, took place in Nigeria at the Lagos Festival of Arts, awarding any number of cups, medals and other trophies to people proficient in various types of skill. One is glad, in the wider field, to see that the British Council has had its colonial grant increased from £416,500 to £450,000. Even though the Council is mainly concerned with propaganda (the 'projection of Britain'), many of its agents can do admirable creative work, either in mental or in physical culture.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

Fair Price for Sugar

We give below extracts from the memorandum presented to H.M. Government by the British West Indies and British Guiana Sugar Delegation, representing the legislatures and the trade unions. For the background to these discussions see Venture, February, 1950, p. 4, and May, 1950, p. 3.

THERE can be no dispute that the United Kingdom had the advantage in the past of buying Colonial sugar at prices uneconomic to the West Indies and British Guiana based on dumped sugar and that this caused depression and disaster in these Colonies. On the other hand, it controlled sugar prices during both world wars when they would have been high . . . the United Kingdom Government in the 1930's at the same time as they were buying sugar from the Colonies at dumped prices, procured the imposition of heavy duties on cheap Japanese goods which were being supplied to the Colonies, and actually of quotas in the case of textiles, mainly in order to protect the standard of living of the British working man. . . It would be unfair for the United Kingdom to expect to buy all British West Indian sugar at cheap prices in years of scarcity, and only guarantee to purchase a portion of their present production in future years of plenty. We would submit that the Colonial farmer is entitled to the same treatment as the British farmer; e.g. that he should have a guaranteed market at fair prices for every ton of sugar he produces which is consumed in Great Britain. . . It is continually being said in England that the troubles facing the West Indies are caused by their concentration on a one crop economy. . . The experience of the last 200 years in the West Indies has conclusively proved that while the West Indies are able to grow other crops than sugar to a limited extent, the extent to which this policy can be developed is in itself very limited. . . All the research work at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad and all the research work of the various Departments of Agriculture in the West Indies and British Guiana have been unable to suggest any economic alternative to sugar. . .

A failure to obtain a guaranteed market for the tonnage we now ask can easily lead in the future to a recurrence of the evil conditions which existed in the years 1937 to 1939. . . Does the United Kingdom wish the British Caribbean to go back to 1937 conditions with reduced employment and unrest, ending in a Royal Commission and more grants; rather than to pay the money in fair prices for efficient production? . . . You desire full employment for your people here, and your exports are to be bought by the British Caribbean, the economy of which is complementary to your own.

The policy of His Majesty's Government does not appear to be consistent. *On the one hand* we have its declared policy to get away from exploitation into a position of trusteeship, extending into partnership. We have the Development and Welfare Acts and the Federation proposals for the British West Indies and British Guiana. We have the strong economic ties between the United Kingdom and the West Indies and British Guiana, particularly in currency control conditions which in effect require the Colonies to buy from the United Kingdom at

high uncontrolled prices. *On the other hand* here is His Majesty's Government planning that the British West Indies should sell cheap a portion of their sugar crop, or not produce it at all—His Majesty's Government preparing the ground for a retraction in the British West Indies economy, where the people's standard of living is already distressingly low and bears no comparison whatever with standards in the United Kingdom.

As a result of Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes, Colonial budgets are being severely over-taxed by new additions and amenities to the structure of West Indian society. While these additions have been created in the first instance by grants from His Majesty's Government . . . the permanent establishments which have accrued as a result must now be met by a very substantial increase in the recurrent revenues of these Colonies. Take the Federation proposals: concurrent with this attack upon the social welfare problems of our area, there has been an expansion of the political privileges of the people in the new constitutions which have been granted to several of the territories during the same period. The West Indian people have come to regard all these as indicative of a new desire on the part of His Majesty's Government to recognise the legitimate claims of these territories for an increased margin of self-government. In view of this enlightened policy, is His Majesty's Government going to fail to grant these colonies an absolute minimum of economic security on which to build a structure of political stability? What of these Federation proposals so carefully and energetically fostered by His Majesty's Government? What chance for these, calling for increased overall Government expenditure, in a retracting British West Indian economy?

. . . This is not a mere matter of His Majesty's Government bargaining with someone who has come to sell them food. We are Colonial territories and His Majesty's Government is therefore responsible for our welfare.

Success with Cocoa

The report, the second for the year 1948-49 of the Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, as usual gives a hopeful picture of the cocoa industry in Nigeria. . . It was good foresight which made the Board to place a premium on the higher grade cocoa, but it was the most remarkable foresight which made it to allocate funds from its profits to scholarships in agricultural courses to the sons and daughters of cocoa farmers. We consider this as the greatest contribution made by any non-Government body to the economic progress of this country. The need for farmers with a knowledge of scientific and modern farming is as great as the need for political freedom, and we look forward eagerly to the time when tractors shall plough our fields instead of the tedious manual system. But we must tell the Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board that its view of markets is rather limited. It seems to think too particularly of America. We wonder where it puts South Africa and Australia. We think the Board should sound the markets in these places if it had not already done so. The greater the number of buyers the higher will be the bid.

Nigerian Tribune, Ibadan, March 24, 1950.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,—I have read the June issue of *Venture* with keen interest. The situation in Africa is growing worse. The Government in this country seems to be giving in to the European settlers. The only hope lies in the people in this country, rather than in the Government itself. I was greatly pleased to see the reaction of the public to the Seretse Khama case. That case has damaged British prestige among the Africans almost beyond repair. I know of no African who believes that racial question did not enter the Government's mind in deciding against Seretse Khama. Nor is there a single African who believes that the attitude of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had nothing to do with their decision.

On the question of franchise in Tanganyika, I entirely agree with the views expressed by the Bureau's delegation and hope that the Bureau will never cease to press for a common roll not only in Tanganyika, but also in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and anywhere else in East and Central Africa, when the electoral system is extended to other territories, such as Uganda and Nyasaland. As you know, Africans are kept off the voter's register in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. This should not be. In Nyasaland, when the time comes to introduce the electoral system, I intend to fight for the common roll.

I hope the people in this country will never allow their government to hand the Africans of Central Africa to Mr. Welensky and his friend, Sir Godfrey Huggins. If they do, there will certainly be trouble in Central Africa. We may have no guns, as the Europeans have. But India did not win her freedom by means of guns. There are other means of fighting, which are no less effective.

Mr. Welensky thinks that it is only we, the educated Africans, that are opposing federation. But he will soon be undeceived. Whatever may be the case in other instances, on the question of federation,

we, the educated Africans of Central Africa, have the support of not only the people, but even more, of the chiefs. I want you to know that, if the Government in this country weakens and grant the Europeans their demand for federation, there will be trouble in Central Africa.

Yours etc.,

London. 5.6.50. HASTINGS K. BANDA.

We print below extracts from a letter sent to The Times on May 24, 1950 :—

Sir,—During my tenure of office as Secretary of State for the Colonies nothing touched me more deeply than the results of an investigation . . . into the extent of blindness among the peoples of the British Colonies. On this Empire Day, I beg to be allowed to call the attention of your readers to the work of the newly-formed British Empire Society for the Blind.

The Society's immediate objects are to establish and assist the development of organisations for prevention and welfare work in each of the Colonies; to demonstrate and work out the best methods of tackling the problem by undertaking a certain number of "Pilot Schemes," and to train a nucleus of teachers and welfare workers. These essential first steps deserve the generous support of the British public. I wish to commend the plan made by the Directors of the Society to associate with themselves a body of sponsors who, by giving either a single donation or an annual subscription, preferably under Deed of Covenant, will play their essential part in the great task it is undertaking. The address of the Society, whose Chairman is Sir Bernard Reilly, K.C.M.G., is 53, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

London, S.W.1.

A. CREECH JONES.

Corporal Punishment in the Colonies

The question of corporal punishment in the Colonies has aroused considerable disquiet amongst Labour Members of Parliament and members of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. On more than one occasion questions have been asked in the House of Commons and the Secretary of State has promised an investigation. The following reply given to Mr. Reginald Sorensen on April 19th, 1950.

The power to inflict corporal punishment on adults is vested in the courts of all colonial territories except for the following: Nyasaland, North Borneo, Malta, Trinidad, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Seychelles.

These powers are very rarely, if ever, used in the following territories: Cyprus, Zanzibar, Gambia, Brunei, Sarawak, Barbados, British Honduras, Leewards, Windwards, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Falklands, St. Helena and Ascension, Aden, Mauritius.

The power to inflict corporal punishment on juveniles is vested in the courts of all territories except for the following, which have agreed to abolish it or have abolished it: Nyasaland, Singapore, Cyprus, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Seychelles, Jamaica.

The following territories rarely, if ever, use this form of punishment for juveniles: Zanzibar, Sierra Leone,

Sarawak, Gibraltar, Malta, Virgin Islands, Fiji, Solomons, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Tonga, Falkland Islands, St. Helena.

In general, corporal punishment may only be awarded for serious offences against the person, such as sexual offences and assault causing grievous bodily harm, but in one or two territories the power still exists for its award for such as the following offences: fighting, house-breaking, stealing, burglary, stock theft, injury to animals, breaches of expulsion and deportation orders.

With regard to the infliction of this form of punishment on adults, the only territories to show an increase in recent years have been Tanganyika, Malaya and Bermuda. With regard to its infliction on juveniles, increases have occurred in Tanganyika, Malaya, Hong Kong, the Somaliland Protectorate and Northern Rhodesia.

Native courts are empowered to inflict corporal punishment and use this power in Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Nigeria.

Native authorities have from time to time been consulted and have expressed their views on the matter of corporal punishment, but it is impracticable to give detailed information without first addressing inquiries to the Governments of the territories concerned.

Guide to Books

In Face of Fear

By Freda Troup. (Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.)

Shadow over Africa

By Michael Scott. Union of Democratic Control, 32, Victoria Street, S.W.1. 1s.)

A dramatic and moving story has been added to the literature of race relations by Freda Troup's account of Michael Scott's work on behalf of Indians and Africans in South and South-West Africa. Michael Scott, as a Christian, has challenged South African policy, both under Smuts and Malan. He has toiled in South-West Africa under great hardship to take down the story of the Hereros from the time of the invasion by the Germans, who savagely carried out a policy of white supremacy. He tells us of the affinity between the South Africans and the Nazis in their treatment of the Africans, the generosity shown to Germans after both World Wars and the systematic alienation of the best lands to European settlers. The courageous and hopeless struggle of the Herero people for the return of their lands, for education and social development, should arouse the conscience of the peoples of the world who believe in human rights.

Shadow over Africa, which has a foreword by Tom Driberg, M.P., is the statement of Michael Scott to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations on November 26, 1949. It is both a summary and an addendum to 'In Face of Fear.' It is necessary for us to remember that the British delegate to UNO voted with the South African against Michael Scott being heard on behalf of a defenceless people. The explanation given in the House of Commons on November 30 that a thoroughly undesirable precedent would be created was fiercely attacked as a legal quibble. The reading of Michael Scott's book and pamphlet can leave no doubt in the minds of the British Government and the British people as to what will happen to the African peoples of the High Commission Territories if Dr. Malan's demand for incorporation is dealt with on the same policy as the Seretse Khama case.

A Survey of Race Relations 1948-1949. (1s.)

The Durban Riots and After. (1s.)

The Cape Coloured Franchise. (2s. 6d.)

South African Institute of Race Relations, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.)

The above pamphlets outline the spreading of the social disease of bitter racial conflict in South Africa. They are worthy of study not only because South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth but because the spread of South African ideas is affecting race relations throughout British Africa and more particularly in Central and East Africa. The 'apartheid' policy is based on the view of the Dutch Reformed Church that 'equality of black and white is contrary to the laws of God and that it is intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down before such a yoke.' Step by step through the Mixed Marriages Act and the Group Areas Bill, Dr. Malan is logically carrying out his policy though refusing to consider the final outcome of complete racial and territorial segregation whereby all native labour would be superseded by European labour in European areas. The hypocrisy and futility of the 'apartheid' policy is exposed

by the insistence on the economic necessity of cheap African industrial and farm labour in European mines, factories and farms, whilst at the same time segregating Indians, Africans, and Cape Coloured in living and social groups.

The Gold Coast

By F. M. Bourret. (Stanford University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 18s.)

Dr. Bourret's book is likely to remain for long the standard textbook on the history of the Gold Coast and British Togoland. The body of the book deals with the period from 1919 to 1946—from the beginning of the administration of Sir Gordon Guggisberg to the end of that of Sir Alan Burns, but this is preceded by a comprehensive section giving the basic geographical facts and a historical background, and followed by a short account of the 1948 riots and the conclusions of the Watson Committee which enquired into them. It does not include the Coussey Report. As is to be expected in so scholarly a work, there is a good map, an index, and a comprehensive bibliography covering articles, newspapers and pamphlets as well as major books and documents. The dry bones of the official history are provided, but local organisations and parties are dealt with, from the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society to the United Gold Coast Convention. No student can reasonably ask for more. Yet the book has none of the fire and imagination which pervades Mr. Ward's *Short History of the Gold Coast*—the Gold Coast people do not live in these pages. The English reader will also recoil from such Americanisms as 'paramounts' and 'Governor Guggisberg.' But these are carping criticisms. The thing to do with Dr. Bourret's book is to buy it and keep it for a lifetime.

Islands in the Sun

By Rosita Forbes. (Evans. 12s. 6d.)

With a wealth of descriptive language Miss Forbes takes the reader on a romantic tour of the West Indies, weaving as she goes a colourful pattern of the people and their pleasures, of palm trees and near-palaces, of ramshackle shanties and shores with 'the fragrance of Eden.' She obviously has no intention of making a serious study of West Indian political and economic problems. Nevertheless this book, with its 32 excellent photographs, provides more than a mere enticement to the would-be tourist.

West African Ferment

By Marjorie Nicholson

The next pamphlet of the Fabian Colonial Bureau published in July analyses the causes of tension in West Africa and describes major changes that have taken place there since the war. It provides an essential background to the constitutional reforms now under discussion, which will, when completed, take the West African Colonies a major step towards independence. The pamphlet will be sent free to all members of the Bureau and to £3 members of the Fabian Society. Order from the Fabian Colonial Bureau (2s. plus postage 1½d., 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.)

Parliament

House search and transfer of Railway Union officials in Nigeria. Mr. Sorensen asked why the house of the Vice-President of the Railway Staff Union at Enugu, Nigeria, had been searched in his absence; and why the Vice-President and the Secretary had both been transferred to Achopa Station. The Secretary of State, Mr. Griffiths, replied that the person referred to was President of the local branch of the Zikist movement, that his house had been searched on February 8 at the same time as those of other members of the movement, and that the movement had been declared an unlawful society. He added that both persons were due for transfer in accordance with normal railway routine; the Vice-President had been in his post for four years, which was much longer than the normal period. The transfer of the Vice-President had been postponed in October, 1949, because of his union status; the union had been informed that the transfer was due. When the matter was raised again in April, he had resigned from the railway rather than accept transfer. The Secretary was also due for routine transfer, but it had been postponed because of his union status. (May 3.)

Old Age Pensions Scheme in Mauritius. Mr. Rankin asked the Secretary of State whether he would recommend the measure of the Government of Mauritius to establish an old age pensions scheme to other Colonial Governments who had not introduced such a measure. Mr. Griffiths replied that the old age pensions scheme was still under discussion but the suggestion made would be borne in mind. (May 3.)

West African Cocoa Marketing Boards. In reply to a question by Mr. Sorensen, Mr. Cook, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that the Gold Coast and Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Boards and the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board directed the selling policy of their respective selling organisations in London, that the second annual report of the Gold Coast Board showed cocoa sales made during the 1948-1949 season by destinations, the distribution of other West African cocoa followed the same pattern. In answer to a supplementary, Mr. Cook affirmed that the export of products was directed in the interests of the native inhabitants. (April 19.)

Municipal Elections, Accra, Gold Coast. Mr. Rankin asked Mr. Griffiths whether he was aware that in the recent municipal elections candidates' observers had been allowed inside the polling booths and that voters had been asked for whom they wished to vote in the presence of other voters; and whether the Government of the Gold Coast would now take steps to ensure the secrecy of voting in all future elections. How many cases of impersonation had occurred and how many prosecutions had resulted? Mr. Griffiths said that agents nominated by candidates had been allowed inside polling booths 'by special pass for the purpose of challenging impersonators. In accordance with the procedure laid down by law, voters were asked by the recording officer for whom they wished to vote, but only one person voted at a time and every effort had been made to ensure that other voters had not heard for whom the vote was cast. It was clear that these arrangements had not ensured secrecy, which was a matter of the utmost importance. The Governor had said that the procedure for municipal elections was being re-examined with a view to introducing the secret ballot,

and a Select Committee of the Gold Coast Legislative Council was examining the organisation required for elections under the new constitution. Mr. Griffiths added that 22 cases of impersonation had been reported to the police, 15 had been taken up, nine had resulted in convictions, five were pending and 1 under investigation. The penalties for impersonation were a fine not exceeding £50, or a term of imprisonment up to six months. (April 26.)

Northern Rhodesia Executive Council. Mr. John Hynd asked Mr. Griffiths whether the Governor, when making recommendations for the appointment or removal of unofficial members of the Executive Council, acted on the advice of all the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, including the two African unofficial members; on what differences of opinion had Mr. J. Morris lost the confidence of more than two-thirds of the elected members of the Legislative Council; whether the two African members were also known to have expressed lack of confidence in Mr. Morris. In reply, Mr. Griffiths stated that the Governor took the advice only of the elected members on Legislative Council when he made appointments to Executive Council or removed a member. The unofficial member who represented African interests on Executive Council was nominated. Mr. Morris had regarded his appointment as a purely personal one and considered that in Executive Council he was not responsible to his elected colleagues on Legislative Council but to his constituents. Such a contention, were it accepted, would have destroyed the value of the agreements arrived at between the previous Secretary of State and the unofficial members in 1948-49 on their position in Executive Council. In a supplementary, Mr. Hynd asked whether it was not the case that Mr. Morris had been recommended for expulsion because he had been the only member who had voted against the resolution of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council in favour of Central African federation? If the Governor was to take advice only from the elected white members of this Executive Council confidence on the part of the African population was not likely to be aroused. (May 3.)

Race discrimination in the Colonial Empire. Mr. Fenner Brockway asked Mr. Griffiths what legal forms of racial discrimination there were in any of the Colonies. Mr. Griffiths replied that in 1947 Colonial Governments had been asked to carry out a factual survey of the extent to which legislation in their territories discriminated between different races, more especially between Europeans and non-Europeans. The surveys had now been broadly completed and the results were being analysed. It was hoped that the survey would be completed in June. (April 5.)

High Commission Territories. In reply to a question by Mr. Wyatt on Government policy, Mr. Gordon-Walker said that the general policy was to take all steps that were practicable to encourage the political development and economic advance of the three territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. Considerable assistance had been and was being given by grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and by the Colonial Development Corporation in development and welfare schemes. Every suitable opportunity had been taken to develop and improve the system of devolving appropriate functions and responsibilities on the native authorities. (March 30.)

The Prime Minister on Race

The following letters have been exchanged by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Prime Minister:—

My dear Prime Minister,—I am writing to you officially, as President of the British Council of Churches, to bring to your attention the resolutions which were adopted by the council on April 20, 1950, when it was meeting at Cardiff.

It will be noted that while in the opinion of the council the matter of Seretse Khama had not been well handled by the Government, the council did not in any way question the Government's assurance that the policy of H.M. Government in regard to race relations remains unchanged, and that the decisions taken in the case of Seretse Khama were taken in the interests of good government alone, and not on grounds of race discrimination.

At the same time there can be no doubt at all that grave suspicions have been created in the minds of many Africans and others that this country is inclining to abandon its traditional policy, and even though these suspicions are quite unjustifiable they can only be eradicated by a strong and repeated reaffirmation by his Majesty's Government in the plainest of terms that the Government are entirely opposed to racial discrimination in territories for which they are responsible.

Such a plain statement would be widely used by the bodies represented on the council, both in this country and through their missions in Africa and elsewhere, in order to remove suspicions and to convince those who are really disturbed on this matter that the Government and our people do intend to stand by our traditional policy and to oppose any tendencies towards racial discrimination in any territories for which the British Government are responsible. You will understand that we are deeply concerned by our Christian convictions to secure that this traditional policy should be both maintained and proclaimed.

Yours sincerely,

GEOFFREY CANTUAR.

April 21.

My dear Archbishop,—I have read with care the resolutions of the British Council of Churches which you sent me with your letter of April 21. It is to me a matter of real regret that the Government's decision upon the succession of Seretse Khama should have been so misinterpreted in certain quarters as to give rise to fears of some change of policy on race relations. I note with appreciation that your council accept the assurance that the decision was not taken on grounds of racial discrimination; and although, as the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said in the House of Commons on March 28, I should have thought that no restatement of our attitude was really called for, I have no hesitation in responding to your invitation and saying that there has been no alteration in the policy of His Majesty's Government, and that they remain entirely opposed to racial discrimination in the territories for which they are responsible.

Yours sincerely,

May 4.

C. R. ATTLEE.

Local Government and the Colonies

(George Allen and Unwin. 16s.)

'... an excellent subject for the Fabian Colonial Bureau to take up and the contributors under the editorship of Dr. Rita Hinden have opened up a wide and fruitful field of study.'—*Manchester Guardian*.

'The Fabian Colonial Bureau have done a service in bringing together in this book, contributions on the subject from a number of people, some anonymous, and some as well known as Professors Simey and Hill.'—*West Africa*.

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July, 1950

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